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#### IV.—NOTES ON THE DELIAN CHOREGIC INSCRIPTIONS.

In 1881 the French excavations at Delos brought to light a series of choregic inscriptions which, along with the agonistic inscriptions pertaining to the Soteria at Delphi and the dramatic records of the Dionysia and Lenaea at Athens, are of immense importance for the history of dramatic and musical exhibitions in Greece in the third century B. C. and the first half of the second. Seven of the Delian inscriptions, cut on the same small round column, and four others, cut on rectangular blocks, were first published by Hauvette-Besnault in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* VII (1883), 103 ff.; a twelfth by Paris, *ibid.* IX (1885), 146 ff. They were republished after the French editors and discussed by Brinck, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad choregiam pertinentes*, Diss. Halen. VII (1886), 187-206.<sup>1</sup> Von Schöffer also treats them briefly in his *De Deli insulae rebus*, Berl. Stud. IX, 138 ff. The most recent discussion is by Capps, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* XXXI (1900), 112 ff. Many restorations and corrections of the published texts have been suggested by these scholars and by Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte d. oesterreich. arch. Inst.* III (1900), 49 ff., but so far as I know no careful examination of the stones themselves has been made since the publication in the Bulletin. Convinced that a reexamination of the originals would help to clear up many doubtful points in the text, at least by showing whether or not the proposed restorations and corrections were acceptable, I visited the museum at Myconos in February, 1903, with the intention of publishing a new text of the entire series, if the results of an examination of the stones should warrant it. But to my surprise I learned that the French authorities would not allow me to take squeezes or even to make notes in the presence of the stones, although published twenty years ago. Accordingly I was obliged to content myself with looking at a few lines of an inscription, going to the hotel and writing down my observations, then returning to the museum

<sup>1</sup> Michel, *Recueil*, Nos. 902-904, reproduces I, II, and V; Dittenberger *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, No. 692, gives II.

and repeating the process. In this way I was able to gather a few notes on doubtful passages, which I here give to the public with some reluctance, fragmentary as they are. They are sufficient, however, abundantly to show the need of a careful republication of these and other Delian inscriptions, and it is to be hoped that the French, now that they have again turned their attention to Delos, will soon render this service to their colleagues of other countries.

My Roman numerals I–XI are identical with those of Hauvette-Besnault; the inscription published by Paris I refer to as XII, with Brinck. I follow Von Schöffer and Michel in giving the dates of Homolle; see Homolle, *Archives de l' intendance sacrée*, 58 ff. and appendices. Brinck, Dittenberger, and Capps keep the dates given by the first editors. The dates of Homolle are two years later except for XI and XII, and these one year later. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, and the writers in Pauly-Wissowa, also ignore the dates of Homolle. Brinck, followed by Capps, gives the year 280 to IV for some reason; Homolle's date is 279, Hauvette-Besnault's 281.

I, 284 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 104. In l. 13 after . . . ος we expect the father's name, and on the stone the first two letters of it are clear, ΚΝ . . . . In l. 22, after αὐληταί, Καφισίας Θηβαῖος, seven or eight letters have been destroyed, then can be read ος, showing that there was more than one flute player and that the plural in the caption was not used carelessly, as has generally been assumed. This is the case with most errors of this kind attributed to the engraver. So in VIII, l. 24, where the caption is likewise αὐληταί, a second name has been obliterated after 'Ονήσιππος (H.-B. "vide"). In XII, l. 79, Wilhelm is undoubtedly right in reading νευρο(σ)πάσ[ραι] for the French editor's Νεῦρος, Παρ . . . , so that only a single name stands after the caption ὀρχηστής. In I, l. 26, Capps (p. 120, n. 3) would take ἐλληνοκράτης as an epithet, not as a proper name, thus removing another such error. I doubt if this is the correct reading, but have nothing better to suggest. After 'Αργεῖος and before ἐλληνοκράτης there are two letters, which I take to be ΚΡ, though they are so mutilated that they cannot be read with certainty. In IV, however, l. 23 f., the singular heading καθαριδός must stand before several names, unless, as Capps suggests, the stone cutter omitted by mistake a category after Κλέων Σικυνώμιος as the following ethnicon 'Αθηναῖος without a preceding proper name

would seem to indicate. In III, l. 22 we shall see that the singular *κιθαριστής* stands before only one name.

II, 282 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 105. In l. 6 the first two letters of the name of the effaced choregus after *Τυχάνδρου* are 'Αφ. In l. 10 the stone actually reads *ΑΝΤΙΓΕΝΗΡΑΙΣΚΟΣ*, confirming Dittenberger's correction (Syl.<sup>2</sup> 692, n. 5) of the reported 'Αντιγένη[ς] Δίσκος to 'Αντιγέν<ης> 'Ηραΐσκος. The stone cutter's eye could easily pass over ΗΣ when ΗΡ followed. In l. 12 the reading is 'Αγλωνέας 'Οστάκου, for 'Α. Οϊτάκου. This is clearly an error for 'Αγλωνέης 'Οστάκου, the name which occurs among the choregi in III, as Brinck (p. 193) surmised. In l. 19 the stone gives *Θεμίστωνος Πάριος* (H.-B. Θε . . . τωνος Π.). Wilhelm in Michel, Recueil, Add. et corrig. p. 949, proposed *Θεμίστων Πάριος*, and this is probably right. The engraver's mistake might easily have been caused by the -ΟΝΙΟΣ in the line just above.

III, 280 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 106. In l. 2 the editor's [παί]δων must stand. Traces of the *παι* can be made out on the stone. Brinck therefore is wrong when he says (p. 195) that *παίδων* was not used in these inscriptions for the choregi at the Apollonia until 259 B. C. (No. VIII), on the ground that such a caption was unnecessary, since only choruses of boys competed at this festival. His other ground for suspecting the French text, however, namely that only three choregi for the Apollonia are mentioned in this inscription, whereas in I, II, IV, V, VI, X and XII, i. e. in all the series where the names are preserved, four names are found, proves to be reasonable, though his solution was not right. The fourth choregus is in l. 5, omitted altogether by the first editor, and is fairly clear, 'Αλκίμαχος Προξένου. From here on the numbering of the French text must be changed. Alcimachus is already known as a Delian name; cf. Dittenberger, Syl.<sup>2</sup>, No. 588, where an Alcimachus is mentioned as *ἱεροποιός*, *ταμίας*, and *τρικτύαρχος*. Returning to l. 2, I read *Δημοκράτης* as the first choregus (H.-B. Δημ-). In l. 17 (16) the stone gives *Διόφαντος* (H.-B. Διο-), to be identified with Capps (p. 124) with *Διόφ[αν]το[ς]* *Χῖος*, also an aulete, in the Soteric list for 272 B. C. (Baunack, Collitz' Samml., II, 6, 2563). In l. 18 (17) after *Τέλεσις Πάριος* the name of a comic actor is omitted, the first two letters being 'Αφ, with space for seven more letters. In l. 21 (20) the French text is . ΣΑ . for the name of the second tragic actor. My reading is *ΑΡΑ . ΩΝ*, confirming the conjecture of Capps (p. 117), who proposed *Δράκων*, which Homolle (B. C. H. XIV, 1890, 502) had restored in IV, l.

18 for Hauvette-Besnault's 'Ἀσπαράκων. Line 24 (23), which has aroused a good deal of discussion, is longer than the others and almost touches the inscription in the next column. The first editor reported "Ἄντονος (espace vide) (nom effacé)", and in the majuscule copy for the "nom effacé" gave ΣΟ . . ΔΙ. Brinck saw that a proper name is not wanted here, but rather a "novum artificum genus", and suggested καθαρωιδοί or ῥαψωιδοί. Capps (pp. 122 f.), however, argued that the clew to the correct heading is to be supplied by the identification of the class of performers to which the three following names belong, Philemon, Nicostratus, and Ameinias. Now these names occur in close juxtaposition in the list of comic poets victorious at the Lenaea<sup>1</sup> at Athens, C. I. A. II, 977 g. Judging by the position of these names with reference to that of Menander, the date of whose first Lenaeian victory can be inferred within narrow limits, we learn that the first Lenaeian victories of Nicostratus and Ameinias fell in the last years of the fourth century i. e. about twenty years before our inscription. For the elder Philemon we have more exact dates. His first Dionysian victory was won in 327 (Frag. Mar. Par., Wilhelm, Ath. Mitth. XXII, 187; cf. Anon. π. κωμ. II, p. 9 Kaibel), but he was active until extreme old age, dying about the time of the Chremonidean war, ca. 263 B. C. (Suid. s. v. Φιλίμων). He could therefore have produced a play at Delos in 280. Now on the strength of these considerations Capps concluded that these three persons were κωμωιδοποιοί and proposed that this word (which is used in the other Delian inscriptions) or its equivalent (π)ο[ητ]αί [κωμωιδιῶν] should be restored as the heading. And in fact ποιηταί κωμωιδιῶν is found on the stone. Though the letters have been somewhat mutilated, they can still be made out with absolute certainty. It is hard to see how they could have escaped the French editor.

For the sake of clearness I reproduce my copy of III, omitting the part pertaining to the Dionysia, where my copy agrees entirely with that given in the Bulletin.

Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Χάρμου (280 B. C.) οἷδε ἐχορήγησαν  
 εἰς Ἀπολλώνια (παί)δων Δημοκράτης,  
 Πύρραιθος Φιλαίθου,  
 Ἱερόμβροτος Εὐδήμου,  
 5 Ἀλκίμαχος Προξένου.

<sup>1</sup> Not the Dionysian list; cf. Am. Jour. Phil. XX (1899), 388 ff.

- 16 οἷδε ἐπεδείξαντο τῶι θεῶι· αὐληταί·  
 Τιμόστρατος Κυζικηνός, Διόφαντος·  
 κωμωιδοί, Τέλεις Πάριος, Ἄφ . . . . . ,  
 Ἱερώνυμος, Πολυκλῆς, Μενεκλῆς,  
 20 Σιμίας Ἀθηναῖος, Διόδωρος Σινωπεύς·  
 τραγωιδοί· Θεμιστών, Δρά[κ]ων,  
 Διονύσιος, Ἀρίσταρχος, Ἠγήσιππος·  
 κιθαριστής· Δύσανδρος· (δ)<sup>1</sup>ρ[χισταί]  
 Αὐτόνομος, Ν . . . . . ποιηταὶ κωμωιδῶν·  
 25 Φιλῆμων, Νικόστρατος, Ἀμεινίας.

We are glad to know the names of a few of the comic poets who brought out plays at Delos. In VII, l. 25 (263 B. C.) we have Nicomachus the Athenian, and in VIII, l. 26 (259 B. C.) Chrysippus. We now possess three more names. Philemon is probably, as I have indicated above, Philemon the elder, rather than his son, who was known as νεώτερος and is so designated in the Athenian record C. I. A. II, 975, col. III, l. 11; cf. Suid. s. v. Φιλῆμων νεώτερος.<sup>2</sup> Our Nicostratus must be the poet of the New Comedy. Meineke Hist. Crit. I, p. 346 thought that there was but one poet of the name, but fresh light is brought by C. I. A. II, 977 g. l. 14 and by our Delian inscription. One Nicomachus is assigned to the Middle Comedy by Athen. 587 d. He must be the one who is reported to be the son of Aristophanes and confounded with Philetaerus, and may be identical with the comic poet of the Icarian inscription C. I. A. IV, 2, 1281 b, as Buck surmised (see Kirchner, No. 11038). The other poet is assigned to the New Comedy by Harpocration s. v. ὀρμιθεντής. We know nothing further about Ameinias than that he is identical with the poet of the Athenian list, mentioned above. See Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. I Heft, s. v. Ameinias.

<sup>1</sup> The stone ΔΡ, as H.-B., but Capps' correction (p. 120 f.) is likely.

<sup>2</sup> Kirchner, Prosop. Att. No. 14276, following Köhler, distinguishes a third comic poet Philemon, and he must be right if insc. II, 975, col. III is to be dated ca. 184/3. The designation νεώ(τερος) was in that case intended to distinguish him from the second of the name, the son of the great Philemon. And the Philemon in the victor's list C. I. A. II, 977 l might seem to favor this view. But the dates at present assigned to the fragments of 975 cannot be regarded as even approximately correct; cf. Dittenberger, Syl.<sup>3</sup>, No. 697, n. 7. Wilhelm's long-awaited edition of these inscriptions will doubtless settle this and many other open questions on the chronology of the comic poets.

IV, 279 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 108. In l. 5 for κ . . ἴθου read Κναίθου. The name is not found in Pape's Eigennamen nor in Fick-Bechtel's Personennamen; cf., however, Πύρραιθος, which occurs in II and III, and Φίλαιθος, which is found in III.

V, 268 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 110. In l. 32 the stone reads Ἰερώνυμος, as Capps (p. 119) conjectured, not Ἰέρωνος. This is the comic actor whose name occurs also in III. He appears as victor at the Lenaea at Athens in the year 289 (C. I. A. II, 972; cf. Am. Jour. Arch. IV (1900), 74 ff.) and was four times victorious at that festival (C. I. A. II, 977 *uv*). In l. 33 Χόρηγος is the reading on the stone, Hauvette-Besnault read χορηγ . . , taking it as a caption. Paris (B. C. H. IX, 153) conjectured χορηγ[ός]. But Brinck (p. 197) restored it as a proper name, the name of a comic actor, like Ergophilus who precedes. There can now be no doubt about this. Before Choregus we have the famous comic actor Ἰερώνυμος and after him the names of Κεί[λ]ιπ(π)ος and Κλεόξενος. Callippus has been identified with the comic actor at the Lenaea at Athens in 306 B. C. (C. I. A. II, 1289) and credited with four Lenaeian victories in C. I. A. II, 977 *uv*, while Cleoxenus is one of the comic actors at the Soteria in the year 272. Choregus must, therefore, also be the name of a comic actor. A. Muller<sup>1</sup> conjectures that he was a grandson of the comic poet Choregus mentioned in C. I. A. II, 977 *f*. The name is not, in fact, a common one, no Athenian of this name being known, for example (cf. Kirchner).

VII, 263 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 112. In l. 8 before Ἀναξιθέμιδος the stone gives ΗΣ and the name must be [Πάχ]ης Ἀναξιθέμιδος, who in V was choregus at the Apollonia and in VI (265 B. C.) at the Dionysia. We have a good many cases in these inscriptions of the recurrence of the same name among the choregi of different years (Von Schöffer, p. 141, n. 121), but if my reading of ΗΣ here is right, we have the first case of a man serving three times, and that within ten years. Brinck, (p. 199), who thought of this possible restoration, regarded it as improbable on this account, though Von Schöffer seems to restore as I have done. In l. 12 I read Λυσιδήμου for Λυ[σανί]ου. In l. 24 after the comic actor Φιλωνίδης Hauvette-Besnault indicates space for five letters and then -αρχος. But there is space for only about three letters;

<sup>1</sup> Philologus LXI (1902), 160. Both he, and Körte in the Suppl. to Pauly-Wissowa, seem not to have known that the credit for the correct interpretation of this word belongs to Brinck.

I read [ἴππ]αρχος, the stone showing traces of the two first letters. No comic actor of this name is known from other sources. Our actor could scarcely be the ὑποκριτής, Νεαίρας ἐραστής, of [Dem.] 59, 26, who Kirchner (Prosop. 7599) suggests may be the tragic actor of C. I. A. II, 977 ο, for the date of this oration is between 343 and 340 according to Blass (Att. Bered. III, 1, 536).

I may add here a note on the omission of the bar in Θ and Α, which led to Hauvette-Besnault's strange error of δλυματοποιός for θλυματοποιός (Dragoumis in B. C. H. VII, 384). Dragoumis suggested that the point of the Θ and the bar of the Α escaped the eye of the copyist. This is not the case, for neither exists on the stone in this inscription and are often omitted in other inscriptions of this series. They were undoubtedly painted in, and whenever in these inscriptions we find Ε for Ε, Α for Α, or Ο for Θ, we may be certain, I think, that the missing stroke was supplied in color, of which distinct traces still remain, especially in VIII.

VIII, 259 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 114. In ll. 19, 20, if the reading Ἱεροκλέ[ους] were correct, the preceding name would have had fourteen or fifteen letters, which is not probable. The stone actually gives at the end of l. 19 ἹΕΡΟΚΛΕΙ and in l. 20 . . . Σ. Read therefore Ἱεροκλείδης, as Capps (p. 119) suggested. In the space before this name, accordingly, stood the name of a comic actor and his ethnicon, in all probability. In l. 21 the stone reads clearly ΑΚΑΡΝΑΝΔΙΣΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΣ and in l. 22 . . . ΔΚΙΔΕΥΣ, confirming Capps' conjecture (p. 119) Σωτίων Ἀκαρνὰν δις, Παράμονος Χαλκιδεύς for Hauvette-Besnault's Ἀκαρν[άν, Ἡ]λις Παραμόνο[υ] . . . .] δεύς. The editor evidently did not see the lower line of the Δ. It is not so well cut as the rest of the letter, but it still exists and was of course perfectly clear when the color was fresh. We have the name of a Paramonos, probably a Chalcidian, in an inscription Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1902, 111, Παράμονος Ἀπολλοδώρου. The ethnicon is not given, but the inscription was found at Chalcis. In l. 24 the majuscule copy gives "ΟΝΣΙΕΠΠΙΟΣ vide". But Ὀνήσιππος is clear. A name followed, but the stone is so mutilated that I could not read it.

IX, not long after 263 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 115. ΚΑΤΑΤΟΝ reported in l. 9 should be read in the line below. The text in l. 9 is ΚΑΤΕΟΥΝ, omitted altogether by the editor.

X, 201 B. C.; B. C. H. VII, 117. In l. 34 read ΚΑΔΩΣ, not ΚΑΛΩΣ. The same word κάδος occurs in the inventories in



V, VI, VII, and VIII. In l. 59 the stone gives ΓΟΡΡΕΙΟΝ, not ΤΟΡΕΥΤΟΝ. The *φιάλη γοργίειος* occurs several times in XII.

XII, 171 B. C.; B. C. H. IX, 147. In ll. 76, 77 Paris read  $\Lambda\nu \dots \delta\omicron\varsigma$  as a proper name. Wilhelm proposed  $\lambda\nu[\rho\omega\iota]\delta\omicron\varsigma$  as a caption; Capps (p. 121)<sup>1</sup>  $\alpha\nu[\lambda\omega\iota]\delta\omicron\varsigma$ . The reading is  $\Delta\Upsilon\Lambda\Theta\text{Ι}\Delta\omicron\varsigma$ . The third letter cannot have been P; therefore the performer was certainly an *αὐλωιδός*.

While studying these choregic inscriptions at Myconos I took occasion to look at No. 270, published in B. C. H. XIV (1890), 389 ff. At the end of this inscription Homolle reads *εἰς τὸ λ|[ογέ]ιον τῆς σκηνῆς | . . . . μὸν τετράπηχυν*. The word *λογεῖον* was considered a probable restoration by Dörpfeld, but doubted by his collaborator Reisch.<sup>2</sup> Both make the mistake of including the λ in the brackets, for it is clear on the stone and is given in Homolle's copy. The source of the dispute which has arisen about this word lies in the simple fact that it is always given as  $\lambda|[ογ\epsilon]\iota\omicron\nu$ , which is not possible, since there is not space enough at the beginning of the line for three letters before *-ιον*. My reading was, at the end of l. 134,  $\Lambda\varsigma$ , and at the beginning of l. 135  $-\epsilon\text{Ι}\text{Ο}\text{Ν}$ . Homolle's reading must therefore be simply changed to  $\lambda\omicron|[γ]\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ . I feel sure that any epigraphist, after an examination of the stone, would agree that this is the correct reading.

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<sup>1</sup> His  $\alpha\nu[\lambda\omega\iota]\delta\omicron\iota$  on p. 121 is evidently a misprint; cf. p. 137  $\alpha\nu[\lambda\omega\iota]\delta\omicron\varsigma$ .

<sup>2</sup> Griech. Theat., p. 148 and p. 301.